

# Supreme Court Rules Syndicalist Law Legal

## Court Records Are Missing in Sacco And Vanzetti Case

Fifteen Pages of Judge Thayer's Prejudiced Charge to Jury Significantly Vanish

BOSTON.—Evidence is accumulating against Judge Webster Thayer, fifteen pages of his prejudiced charge to the jury in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, on charges of attempted robbery are missing from the court records. This significant fact has been discovered by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee and is admitted by District Attorney Wilbur in a letter to the committee.

Vanzetti was framed in that earlier trial so that he could be brought into court in 1921 in the murder trial as a convicted felon that no juror should believe. And Sacco, handcuffed to a convicted hold-up man was discredited with him.

The missing pages contained the judge's denunciations of radicalism, Vanzetti and his friends remember Thayer saying that the prisoner's anarchist ideals were "cognate" with the crime of which he was accused.

A letter from Professor W. L. Cox of New York University may lead Governor Fuller into investigating this Plymouth trial as well as the murder case. Cox reminds Fuller that his brother Alfred E. Cox, the paymaster on the L. Q. White shoe company payroll truck had refused to identify Vanzetti.

"He alone," writes the professor, "had an opportunity to see the men who held him up and he declined to identify his assailants as Vanzetti. This fact, it seems to me, should have afforded good reason for hesitating to accept a verdict of 'guilty.' It is hard to believe that such evidence should carry so little weight with men of intelligence."

The evidence against Vanzetti was paltry and some of it ludicrous, as that of the boy who said the bandit "ran like a foreigner." Eighteen Italians in Plymouth December 24, 1919, the day of the crime.

## Labor Menaced by World-Wide Assault, Says Seamen's Head

By International Labor News Service

Organized labor is confronted with a world-wide assault that will tax to the limit the resources, courage and skill, ingenuity, courage and stamina of the trade union movement, is the opinion of Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America.

President Furuseth gave brief expression to his views to International Labor News Service during a short stop-over in Chicago while en route from his headquarters in Washington, D. C., to the Pacific Coast.

"I have given expression to this view to a number of persons who should be interested," said Mr. Furuseth, "but I am afraid that my thought has found lodgment in some minds that should be receptive, in view of all the evidence that is in plain sight."

Reaction in Italy and France  
"Fascism in Italy is a pronounced manifestation of the thing with which we are confronted. France, too, is dominated with a thinly disguised Fascist policy."

The trade unions in France have many restrictions imposed upon them that are not conducive to efficient functioning and healthy growth, and the government has the greatest military machine in the world to enforce those restrictions.

England, too, is following the lead of Mussolini, as evidenced by the drastic anti-labor bill introduced in the British Parliament by the Baldwin government and which seems

## Tennessee Labor Is for Public Ownership

Memphis, Tenn.—Organized labor in this State does not favor private ownership of natural resources. At the State Federation of Labor convention in this city, the trade unionists declared:

"The natural resources of America are the property of the citizenry. Efforts by any combination to monopolize such resources should be resisted by every patriotic citizen. Attempts of the power interests to secure control for private profit of the State's vast water resources constitute a menace to future citizenship. Ownership of such resources should be safeguarded by our public officials and the interests of the public held paramount."

## Vienna, a Socialist City, Marches Toward New Day

VIENNA.—The spectacular campaign in the Vienna municipal elections which led to an overwhelming Socialist victory drew out over 90 percent of the voters. The Socialists got 600,000 votes against 417,000 for the anti-labor block. The Socialist majority in the council, now increased to two-thirds of the total, can go on with its unprecedented experiments in "practical socialism." In the national Austrian election which took place at the same time the Socialists increased their representation but did not secure a majority.

In Vienna under Socialist rule housing is practically free for all except the rich. A tax of a few dollars a year is collected from each tenant for the municipal apartment building fund. At the present rate the city will have by 1932 about 65,000 apartments. Wealthy citizens in Vienna take little pride in the beauty and comfort of these municipal buildings because they had to pay for them. It is estimated that the 751 richest tenants in Vienna paid more in rent used for putting up municipal housing than the 490,000 other tenants.

The Socialist council also built clinics, nurseries, schools and other agencies which are being studied by a continuous flow of delegations from municipalities all over Europe.

The election campaign of the Socialists put the united capitalist parties in the shade. The film propaganda shown indoors was witnessed by over 400,000. In addition there were movies in the open. "Vote Red" electric signs flashed before the eyes of everyone. The climax was reached when hundreds of thousands marched in a demonstration organized by the party, the trade unions, the republican guard and the labor youth.

Unable to compete, the capitalist parties complained that foreign funds were being used. The Catholic party in the capitalist block tried to rally its supporters through the church while Jewish newspaper owners cooperated by a fight against the Socialists.

Out of a population of 1,800,000 Vienna has 500,000 in trade unions while 320,000 are members of the Social-Democratic party, and others still are in the Labor Youth.

certain of passage by a big majority," continued Mr. Furuseth. "There are many other evidences of this trend, but we need only to take the recent decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Indiana stone cutters' case in order to bring the matter home to every liberty-loving American and particularly to every trade unionist on this side of the water. That decision is bound to do great injury to every trade union and presents a problem that will require the best thought of the movement to solve."

Labor Must Be Warned  
"The world-wide offensive against the labor movement is under way. The tocsin should be sounded so that every union man and union woman may have timely warning and be at their proper posts of duty and prepare to repel the enemy."

## Trust Grabs for Giant Power Site, Washington, D. C.

Tries to Squeeze Proposed Federal Project While Congress Is Adjourned

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Power trust arrogance has outdone itself, in the opinion of public-ownership advocates, in the application by the Byllesby branch of the power combine for a preliminary permit to harness the Great Falls of the Potomac, at the very door of the national capital. Three times the Senate has adopted the Norris bill, providing for construction of a great power dam at this site by the federal government. The Republican machine in the House has blocked it, under guidance from the power trust lobbyists.

Now the trust itself goes before the Federal Power Commission, while Congress is in recess, and demands the site.

Under the Norris plan, based on repeated and careful studies by engineering engineers, a power dam costing from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 could be constructed at the Great Falls, and from it could be developed sufficient power to light the city and operate all machinery now in use in the District of Columbia. This (Cont. on page 3)

## Mussolini Forces Workers to Take 10 Per Cent Cut

ROME.—The first nation-wide application of the fundamental principle of the fascist-syndicalist state, as laid down in the recently promulgated charter of labor—voluntary cooperation between capital and labor for the purpose of improved national economy—is scheduled to be made within a few days.

Workingmen in all branches of Italian production will be called upon to make their contribution in the form of acceptance of a 10 per cent wage reduction.

The new wage scale will be established for a comparatively long period, in accordance with the wish of the fascist grand council that "the new wage contracts permit business an ample margin of time to adjust itself to the new financial situation and the difficulties of international competition." Prices, it is admitted, are not falling as quickly as wages.

## Wood Sells Out Philippine State Owned Business

\$50,000,000 Worth of People's Property Auctioned to American Magnates

The following news dispatch describes the latest outrage committed against weaker peoples and against democracy and progress by American imperialism—a case of colossal looting, an attack on public ownership, on the movement toward socialism, such as should arouse the extreme apprehension and indignation of all honest citizens.

MANILA, P. I.—The government is going out of business in the Philippine Islands, and its holdings in commercial enterprises, involving about \$50,000,000, will be sold to the highest responsible bidder.

This was announced by Gov. Gen. Wood to the Associated Press today as he outlined a new policy which he had adopted as the head of a government controlled properties and business. The new policy is occasioned by the recent ruling of the insular Supreme Court that the governor general has full power over government controlled institutions.

Almost at the same time Gen. Wood handed control of the Manila Railroad company, one of the corporations in which the government owns the majority of the stock, over to Filipinos, by giving the natives a majority on the board of directors of the company. Management of the company also was left in native hands.

Interests which will be sold include the great sugar centrals in Oriental Negros and Occidental Negros provinces. Gen. Wood said he was considering an offer from New York for the sugar centrals.

The Cebu Portland Cement company, capitalized at 5,000,000 pesos (\$2,500,000); the National Development company, which owns thousands of acres of agricultural and timber lands in Nueva Ecija province; and the National Coal company, a 3,000,000 peso (\$1,500,000) concern, are among those slated for disposal.

Nothing that the imperialists have done in recent years more clearly reveals their sinister purpose than this. Solely by brute force by a semi-military dictator, Governor-General Wood, these vast public enterprises built up by the Filipino people, are being seized and handed over to AMERICAN private owners. Behind this looting of a disarmed and (Cont. on page 3)

## Socialist Revival Is Seen In Reading

READING, Pa.—Socialists here are much encouraged by the prospects in the coming municipal election. From all parts of the city come reports of voters who want to assist in the Socialist campaign. The opportunity of reaching the goal of a complete working class administration has never been brighter in the history of the local organization.

A tower of strength in the present situation is the Reading Labor Advocate, an excellent eight page Socialist and Labor weekly, which is one of the big factors in the favorable attitude of the unions toward the Socialist candidates and program.

## From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

## Organization and Working Class Power

To succeed in their struggle with the master class, to free themselves from wage slavery and to rise to the plane of freedom and self-respect, the workers must have power, and they can only develop this power through organization.

The necessity of organization, economic and political, is the light of past experience and in the face of the opposition which confronts them, is so self-evident that it seems almost a waste of time to argue about it. And yet there are thousands who are in sympathy with the workers and who profess to be socialists, who for some inscrutable reason, hold aloof as if they entertained the fallacious notion that socialism is like gravitation, in that it operates automatically, and that as it is bound to come anyway, there is no use to bother about organizing.

These good people little know that their position is not only illogical but that in so far as they are socialists at heart and refuse to do their share to prepare the workers for industrial mastery and the people for the higher life of increasing sociality, they are positively retarding the growth of the Socialist party and the progress of the socialist movement.

The intellectual propaganda of socialism is well organized and the work of carrying it forward is being prosecuted with admirable energy, but the organization of the working class forces for actual conflict with the enemy and for assuming control of industry when the time comes to wrest the machinery of production from its present masters, capitalist owners, is still far from that degree of perfection to which it should have attained by this time.

The organization of the workers as an industrial class in unions corresponding to their industries and in a political party representing them as a whole, is of increasing sociality as the struggle proceeds and the enemy resists the advance of the workers and seeks in every way possible to prevent them from uniting their forces for aggressive action and efficient co-operation.

Get together, you workers, and waste no more time about it! Get together in the union of your industry and there not only fight the bosses in a solid, militant body, but make that union the training school in which to develop your class solidarity, your class spirit and class discipline, and your own self-respect, for the higher destiny which awaits you when you shall have conquered your exploiters, destroyed wage slavery, and laid the foundations for a new society in which you are to be the ruling sovereigns.

Get together in the Socialist party! Don't be satisfied until your name is enrolled and you have the red card of membership in your pocket. Then and only then can you rightly call for co-operation in the struggle, for only will you actually count in the social revolution.

The times were never so propitious, nor the opportunities so great as they are today. We have within ourselves the inherent powers necessary to conquer in the struggle, let us develop these powers through sound education and revolutionary organization and speed the day of emancipation.

## U. S. Chamber of Commerce to Back Power Trust Grabs

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at its recent meeting in Washington, cheered to the echo attacks on public ownership, and went on record against all such public enterprises.

The Chamber seemed to be worrying particularly about three points: Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, and the St. Lawrence.

W. H. Onken, editor of the Electrical World and as such a spokesman for the private interests grouped in the Power Trust, said that the government had no right to build an electric generating plant. He was talking about Boulder Canon.

Apparently, it is all right for the government to build the dam, but it must not install the works which would make that dam a paying investment, and at the same time furnish cheap power.

Mr. Onken also denounced Governor "Al" Smith's plan of a Public Power Authority as "socialistic and paternalistic."

The idea seems to be that the government, that is, the public, shall do all the dirty work, while the Power Trust shall collect all the profits.

## 2,500,000 CHILDREN FEED PROFIT MILLS OF AMERICA

More than 2,500,000 children between the ages of 10 and 16 years are working for wages in various parts of the United States. The employment of the little ones, who have a right to be in school or at play, has increased at an alarming rate since the Supreme Court of the United States declared the Federal child labor law unconstitutional.

According to a report made by the Children's Bureau, in January of this year, the increase in one city, Fall River, Mass., was 43.7 per cent.

There were some of the facts emphasized by President William Green of the A. F. of L. in an address before the American Child Health Association in Washington last Monday.

"If this nation is to be saved from the degrading and destroying effect of child labor, it must adopt the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States," said Mr. Green. "In no other way can we successfully cope with this evil."

"The nation cannot possess healthy children and at the same time permit industry to employ them. We cannot have child health and child labor simultaneously."

"The employment of children in industry is a curse to civilization. It is a violation of natural and physical laws."

"We must surrender one or the other—children's health or children's labor. Which shall it be?"

## Anti-War Talk Is Barred from Air By Radio Trust

Norman Thomas Urges Faster Work for WDEB to Save the Situation

NEW YORK.—Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and former Socialist candidate for Governor, yesterday bitterly criticized the action of Station WGL for barring from the air a program of anti-war talks, the first station to put thumb-screws on "Spread Eagle" now playing at the Martin Beck Theatre.

WGL is the second broadcasting station within a few weeks to refuse the play to go on, after the producers had accepted an invitation from the radio censor, Station WDEB, to play the first station to put thumb-screws on "Spread Eagle" after alleged patriotic organizations exerted pressure on ground that the play was subversive of the national interest.

"These brazen violations of free speech," Thomas declared, "not only curtail our principal broadcasting stations, but muzzle by monopoly. Both incidents are especially significant when it is recalled that officials of WDEB were familiar with the play's contents, accepted a condensed version of it, eliminating certain references to individuals and institutions, and then suddenly turned it down. WDEB denied at the time that any special pressure had been brought against the play, but it was an open secret that a veterans' organization insisted upon having its say."

How can 20,000,000 unemployed be absorbed? That is probably the biggest subject before the industry commission. So long as the purchasing power of the consumer remains low and cannot be raised by higher wages without crippling production by making that production too expensive—the old vicious circle of European economies—the problem will be apparently insoluble.

The above are the exact words of a capitalistic news dispatch. It is significant that in assigning the cause of unemployment to the purchasing power of the consumer, the dispatch is overlooking the fact that the purchasing power of the consumer is being kept low by the fact that production is too expensive to permit of higher wages without crippling production by making that production too expensive—the old vicious circle of European economies—the problem will be apparently insoluble.

(Cont. on page 3)

## Anita Whitney Must Serve Out Her Term in the Penitentiary

Serious Blow at Civil Liberties—35 States Have Laws Covered by This Decision

Washington, D. C.—Constitutionality of the California syndicalism law, aimed at conspiracies to overthrow organized government by force, was upheld by the Supreme court.

In two decisions, the court affirmed the conviction, under that statute, of Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, and of William Burns.

In another decision, which dealt with the Kansas syndicalism law, the court held that the conviction under it of Harold B. Fiske was based on insufficient evidence.

This decision is one of the most serious blows against American civil liberties since the World War. It legalizes the criminal syndicalism laws now on the statute books of 35 states, and opens the way for the passage of this class legislation in the remaining states whenever the master class feels that such laws are necessary.

While the criminal syndicalism laws purport to punish offenders for attempts to overthrow the government, the criminal syndicalism laws in all the states are so worded and construed that they are in effect an act to overthrow the government.

(Cont. on page 3)

## Disarmament Funk At Geneva Alarms World Peace Forces

GENEVA.—The failure of the preparatory disarmament conference has made a very bad impression all over Europe and stirred up the powerful frames of the international peace society to a vigorous campaign against the military plutocrats.

The international peace bureau recently sent a letter to the committee in charge of the preparatory disarmament conference, bitterly denouncing the failure.

The letter was signed by President La Fontaine, Belgian senator, and General-Secretary Gellay, charges before all of those who fought through the terrible World War to end war, declare that the pledges made at the Treaty of Versailles and the principles of the League of Nations have been violated, and states that the people everywhere would rise in revolt if they knew the facts. Influence of the munition manufacturers and those who profit from war is charged in the following words:

"Nobody will be surprised to find that those who profit from the manufacture and trade in war materials and from the military profession and gain prominence thereby should discover thousands of excuses for the increase and perpetuation of the evil which keeps them a living," the letter points out. "But it is strange that precisely that kind of people should have been chosen for this task."

## TAKE THE SUB-A-MONTH PLEDGE

The American Appeal has begun the ORGANIZATION of the Socialist propaganda forces of the United States.

This new organization is to be based upon AN ENROLLED MEMBERSHIP IN WHICH EACH INDIVIDUAL IS PLEDGED TO GET AT LEAST ONE SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE AMERICAN APPEAL PER MONTH, OR EQUIVALENT AID IN INCREASING THE APPEAL CIRCULATION.

This required quota of individual service to the cause is so small and will be so easily fulfilled—EITHER IN SERVICE OF CONTRIBUTIONS—that anyone can fulfill it with ease; YET IF NO MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND TAKE AND KEEP THIS PLEDGE, the Appeal and Socialist Party will be placed on a safe and growing basis.

But we are going to get more than a thousand members. This is going to be the beginning of a GROWING PROPAGANDA ARMY THAT WILL SOON SHAKE THE NATION WITH ITS RISING POWER.

The beauty of this plan is that it establishes confidence; guarantees that propaganda efforts shall not be scattered and wasted; insures success—FEEDS AND GROWS ON ITS OWN SUCCESS.

The additional reasons why we must have such an organization now are given in an article at the top of page 2. Read it.

Wanted: several hundred comrades—Minute Men of the revolution—to start this by their example. It will really mean a great re-birth of Socialist activity throughout the nation.

In the meantime, let's get started. Clip out and sign the pledge below and send it to the Appeal at once.

## Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge

Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago:

I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

Name ..... Address .....



# To Every Member of Every Socialist Local and Branch

During the week the American Appeal sent a letter to all local Socialist organizations in the United States informing them of the importance of their part in the present drive to ORGANIZE A PLEDGED SUB-MONTH ARMY.

Every Local and Branch has been asked to call a meeting as soon as possible, or bring up at the regular meeting, if that is soon, the question of WHAT THE LOCAL WILL DO EACH WEEK FOR THE AMERICAN APPEAL IN THE FUTURE.

WE ARE ASKING THE LOCALS AND BRANCHES TO FIX THEIR OWN QUOTAS OF SERVICE FOR THEIR PAPER IN SUBS, OR SUB CARDS, OR IN ORDERING AND DISTRIBUTING A WEEKLY BUNDLE.

Failure to meet this natural and reasonable request is tantamount to refusal to do anything for the Socialist Movement, BECAUSE SPREADING OUR PROPAGANDA PAPER IS THE ONE AND EASY WAY TO MEET AND CONQUER THE PRESENT SITUATION AND PUT THE APPEAL AND THE PARTY ON THEIR FEET.

The purpose of this article is to ask each and every member of each and every Local or Branch in the United States TO CONSTITUTE HIMSELF OR HERSELF A COMMITTEE OF ONE TO SEE THAT HIS OR HER ORGANIZATION ACT AT ONCE ON THIS PROPOSITION.

Surely, there is no Local in the United States that has not at least one individual that cares enough for the Cause to take steps to get the Local to act immediately. Every individual Socialist member of every Socialist organization is hereby asked to make the necessary moves at once to have the Local called together for ACTION.

—William H. Henry,

National Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.

## Socialist Party News

News has been arriving from many places showing that Comrades are making arrangements for holding picnics and no doubt there will be many of them held during the month of June, and we want to tell the Comrades if they will give us the information as soon as arrangements are made, we can carry it in the American Appeal under the heading of "Party News." At all of these picnics Comrades should hustle for new members and new subscribers to the American Appeal. A Committee should be selected for this purpose alone.

### Pennsylvania

A new Italian Branch has been organized at Shenandoah. This is the second Branch the Italian Comrades have organized in Pennsylvania in the last few weeks. Comrade Hoopes of that State tells us that the Italian Comrades are doing fine work in Pennsylvania.

### Connecticut

Plans are practically completed for the State convention of the Socialist Party which will be held Sunday, May 22, at the Arbutus-Manner-Chor Park, Allentown, New Haven. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. by Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary. It is expected that all local branches of the State will be represented by five delegates each.

The Connecticut Debs Radio Committee will hold a special meeting during the day. Plans for the State and National election of 1938 will be discussed. One of the National committeemen in charge of the Debs Radio Memorial will speak at the convention. Dinner will be served at the Park by the ladies of the Manner Chor.

### Massachusetts

The May Day meetings arranged by the various locals proved unusually successful this year. In Boston about 1500 people attended the joint meeting arranged by the Socialists and Communists for Sacco and Vanzetti. The proceeds were given to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. The Banquet arranged by the Debs Memorial Radio Committee resulted in raising \$1000.00. The total of \$3400.00 raised to date in Massachusetts apart from the money sent in direct to the National Committee. Comrade Thomas, the chief speaker at the banquet, made it clear it was possible to get a license by buying a station and a wave length assigned to it.

Another Circle of the Yipsels is being organized at Peabody. An example of the lengths to which the capitalist tabloid papers will go in attempting to discredit the Socialist sympathizers of Sacco and Vanzetti has just been furnished in one of the Boston tabloids which attributed to Louis Rabinowitz, educational director of the Yipsels, a statement that the mill workers of Massachusetts are refusing to listen to conservative speakers on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case and instead are "Crying for blood." When faced with denial by those who heard Comrade Rabinowitz speak that he had said anything of the sort, the representative of the paper stated that the statement attributed by him to Comrade Rabinowitz was made in a private interview and not in the public speech. The Editor refused to print a retraction but the paper did finally agree to give Comrade Rabinowitz another interview quoting him as stating that the Yipsels were using every PEACEFUL effort to secure the release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

### New Jersey

The Annual State Convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey will be held on Sunday, May 22, 1937, beginning at 10 o'clock a. m., daylight saving time, at the Labor Lyceum of the Workmen's Circle of Jersey City, 351 York St., Jersey City, N. J.

Credentials have been received from nearly all the branches in the state for delegates to the convention, in fact from reports received two more counties will have representation than were represented at the last state convention. Credentials also have been received for Fraternal Delegates from various Workmen's Circle Branches. In fact a better showing this year than last year is assured.

The State Executive Committee will prepare the agenda for the convention that has been submitted by the various branches throughout the state.

Delegates are requested not to fail to bring their duplicate credentials with them.

### New York

State Secretary Merrill has sent out a questionnaire to all upstate locals of the Party. Information is requested as to street corners still available for public meetings, and locals are asked to state to what extent they will cooperate, financially and otherwise, in a summer campaign. While the parking of automobiles has destroyed the value of street corners where soap-boxers used to hold forth before the War, almost every city has some place within its border where open-air speaking is still possible. Negotiations are still under way looking to securing the organizing services of Emil Herman for New York State again this season.

### Donations to Party

The following is a report of donations made to the Party in answer to the call sent out to locals and branches on recent date. This report is for donations arriving here up to the end of April. We will publish again at the end of May. Comrades should take this matter seriously and assist the organization fund. Every local and branch should do something. See that your local or branch is listed next time, and if possible have your name appear with a donation.

### Regular Organization Fund

August Erber, Iola, Wis. \$2.00  
C. E. Perry, Logansport, Ind. 1.00  
Effie M. Mueller, Indianapolis, Ind. (collected) 7.00  
H. G. Tucker, Milwaukee, Wis. 2.00  
J. H. Miller, Ridgely, Ill. 5.00  
F. S. Collins, Juda, Wis. 5.00  
Albert Garner, New York City 2.00  
Joseph Mueller, Le Mars, Iowa 5.00  
J. J. Deinger, Le Mars, Iowa 5.00  
U. Montelero, Beckley, W. Va. 1.00  
Geo. E. Harris, Westwood, Mass. 1.00  
C. W. Bloom, Kensington, Md. 2.00  
Walter Jones, Kingston, Pa. 1.00  
Joseph M. Cormack, Atlanta, Ga. 5.00  
H. Siroky, St. Louis, Mo. 1.00  
John L. Wraether, Mayfield, Ky. 1.00  
Mary and Mildred Hicks, Brainbridge, Pa. 3.00  
J. H. Lastinger, Fort Ogden, Fla. 1.00  
L. J. Ruppel, Ledbetter, Texas 1.00  
H. Koblik, San Francisco, Calif. 1.00  
O. E. Samuelson, Capron, Okla. 1.00  
J. J. Duhamel, Medford, Ore. 2.00  
J. A. Thomas, Medford, Ore. 2.00  
M. F. Schoenberger, Murray, Utah 2.00  
Forest Wallace, Veederburg, Ind. 10.00  
Dr. S. M. Neistadt, Baltimore, Md. 2.00  
Chas. A. Brannon, Atascadero, Calif. 1.00  
State Committee of New Jersey 25.00  
P. L. Petersen, San Antonio, Tex. 1.00  
Finnish Branch, E. Portchester, N. Y. 1.00

N. Y. 13-19 A. D. Branch, Kings County 10.00  
14-20 A. D. Branch, Kings County 5.00  
25th Ward Branch, Milwaukee, Wis. 25.00  
Ray Newark, Utica, N. Y. 5.00  
Local Shelburne, Wis. 10.00  
Local Westport, Massillon, Ohio 1.00  
Local Seattle, Wash. 3.00  
M. Larena, Clorborn, W. Va. 2.00  
Frank L. Boothby, Portland, Maine 1.00  
Curtis A. Perry, Bridgton, Maine 2.00  
West Side Woman's Branch, Milwaukee, Wis. 5.00  
Finnish Branch, Amesbury, Mass. 10.00  
Arthur Bridwell, Baldwin City, Kans. 1.00  
Local Kenwood-Sherrill, N. Y. 5.00  
M. E. Edson, Ocala, Fla. 1.00  
Local Umatilla, Oregon 12.50  
Local Krayn, Pa. 4.00  
Lavina L. Dock, Fayetteville, Pa. 3.00  
Total \$197.50

**Young People's Department**  
National Office  
25 Townsend St., Chicago, Ill.  
Aime J. Parker, Nat. Director.

### WITH THE CIRCLES

Milwaukee Circle 1—The circle recently held a ball which proved a tremendous success in attendance, entertainment and finance. Plans have been made to charter a special car for the circle members who are attending the Socialist picnic of Cook County. Work is being done toward a large scale distribution of Socialist leaflets. The annual picnic of the circle is to be held August 7, at Wind Lake, Racine County Wisconsin. The picnic program will be a good speaker, dancing, boating and swimming. For the fall plans the circle has already outlined a special membership drive, and is to present a socialist play for the Fall Vaudeville Entertainment arranged by the Party.

Port Chester—The circle meets regularly every Friday evening, alternating in a cycle of business, educational and social meetings. Five meetings were held during the past month.

New York City—The general league of New York held a hike last Sunday, which from advance reports promised to be the largest ever held. Circle One Manhattan, the latest addition to the League is showing very fine capacity for Yipset work. Already they have put over some successful open air meetings, and made considerable headway in the sale of party publications. A recent dance was well attended. The city league arranged several open air meetings during Boys week, and on Mother's Day. Demands were made for the enactment of laws forbidding both child and mother's labor. Resisting the temptation of being out on a beautiful May Day the Bronx Yipsels held a successful indoor meeting and celebration. Comrade August Claessens and Edmund Seidel were the speakers. The work of the Boro committee was reviewed and summer activities discussed. Junior Circle 12 has organized a debating team and base ball team, "Kid" Blaukopf being captain of the former and Henri Meister and Herman Greenberg prominent stars in the latter. The annual field day of the city League will be held at the Pelham Bay Park on Sunday June 20th. The

# Why Appeal and Party Must Have A Sub-A-Month Organization Now

All effort nowadays that is successful is ORGANIZED. All organization that is successful nowadays is based upon a DUTY or DUES obligation which rests EQUALLY on all. Unions, Labor and Socialist Parties, fraternal and benevolent societies, co-operatives—all are based upon these conditions. There are good reasons why these conditions are the foundation of all such organizations and equally good reasons why they MUST BE THE FOUNDATION OF A SUCCESSFUL PROPAGANDA EFFORT TO RE-ESTABLISH THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

1—The re-establishment of the Socialist Movement in the United States is going to be a particularly difficult job because the War produced a tragical break between the old and the new generation—WE LACK YOUNG BLOOD. The present labor leadership in America is opposed to independent political action by Labor. Capitalism is more powerfully entrenched in the government and industries AND IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE and is richer and more powerful than elsewhere. In the face of these difficulties UNORGANIZED PROPAGANDA advances and recedes in a most uncertain and haphazard manner. As we gain at one point we lose at another. This process long drawn out is discouraging and demoralizing, and it has nothing to support it but sporadic enthusiasm which exhausts itself in local manifestations and bursts like bubbles. Under these conditions the individual propagandist works only at starts and fits. In time many individual propagandists quit altogether with the settled belief that their efforts are futile. THEY HAVE NO ASSURANCE THAT IF THEY WORK, OTHERS WILL WORK AND SUPPORT AND SAVE WHAT GAIN.

2—OUR ORGANIZED PROPAGANDA DOES NOT IMPRESS THOSE WHOM WE WOULD WIN WITH CONFIDENCE IN OUR MOVEMENT. This is very important. THE MAIN REASON WHY THOUSANDS DO NOT JOIN US AND STICK IS NOT BECAUSE THEY OBJECT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM BUT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE CAN PROPERLY ORGANIZED EFFORT WE FAIL TO INSPIRE THEM WITH CONFIDENCE IN OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE THE THINGS WE TEACH. The average person is won far more by his confidence in a movement than by any reason, argument or philosophy that movement is able to advance. Let us once get under way a really effective propaganda organization, pulsing through and through with inspiring team work and comradeship, and it will gather and carry with it an ever increasing number of adherents by virtue of its own momentum and spirit.

3—The basic reason why a pledged and enrolled sub-month organization will bring success to the Appeal and the Party is BECAUSE IT GIVES ASSURANCE TO THE INDIVIDUAL PROPAGANDIST THAT HIS OR HER WORK WILL NOT BE WASTED BUT WILL BE SUPPORTED AND DUPLICATED EVERY MONTH BY A THOUSAND OR MORE OTHER WORKERS. Such assurance is absolutely essential to success under present conditions in America. Under our unorganized efforts THE APPEAL ARMY IS CONTINUALLY FLUCTUATING. Many of our most active workers of a year ago are not working now. We wonder how many of them have had their fine enthusiasm killed as a result of unorganized and undirected propaganda work? Many of our most splendid present workers are late arrivals in the Army. We wonder how long they will stay? Considering the scarcity of good propagandists in America, this is an extremely dangerous condition. IT MUST BE REMEDIED.

4—THE INDIVIDUAL PROPAGANDIST WANTS TO FEEL THAT THERE IS SOMETHING resembling an equality of obligations, tasks and responsibilities in the movement. He does not wish to see a few eternally doing all the work, while thousands just as able to help, just as deeply obligated to the Cause, just as much interested in its success and expecting to share equally in its benefits, nevertheless sit out and while doing nothing add a few do all the work. The rank justice of this added to its general ineffectiveness

is immensely demoralizing. It will wear down the best propagandists and retire them in time. IT IS AN ENDLESS CRUETION OF OUR BEST EFFORTS BY OUR LAZY, INDIFFERENT OR IRRESPONSIBLE MEMBERS. Organizations have minimum MONEY or SERVICE OBLIGATIONS for the particular purpose of removing this condition. Such minimum obligations are instituted for the purpose of getting some hold or leverage on THOSE WHO OTHERWISE WOULD SEE A FEW DO IT ALL, BUT WHO WILL DO USEFUL WORK UNDER AN EQUALITY OF OBLIGATIONS. By this process alone is the propaganda habit extended to a greater and greater mass of workers. After performing their minimum obligation, many of them learn to like the work and to VOLUNTARILY DO MORE THAN THE MINIMUM OBLIGATION. In view of the fact that the success of the Socialist Movement depends wholly on ITS ABILITY TO DEVELOP AN EVER GROWING NUMBER OF PROPAGANDISTS it is a tremendous mistake not to utilize this well known principle. OUR ORGANIZED EFFORT TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE TO SOCIALISM.

5—As a matter of fact, THE VERY ESSENCE OF SUSTAINED ORGANIZED EFFORT IS AN EQUAL AND UNIVERSAL OBLIGATION TO DO SOMETHING. Such an organization is only as large as SUCH AN OBLIGATION. If there is no obligation there will be no assured or sustained effort. Voluntary effort itself will not operate long without mutual assurance from others. We will have only sporadic voluntary work and then—death. AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IS NOT WILLING TO AGREE TO SUPPORT A MOVEMENT FROM WHICH HE EXPECTS TO DERIVE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL BENEFITS DOES NOT BELONG IN THAT MOVEMENT AND IS OF NO USE TO IT. He is dishonest. He is doing himself a disservice, but he is unwilling to obligate himself to it in any degree.

6—The Sub-A-Month obligation will give an effective leverage on the Socialist shirker enabling us to gradually make a habitual propagandist of him. It will furnish solid assurance of mutual effort and success to the willing workers who break their backs and hearts trying to do all the work of Socialism and will raise their spirits and enthusiasm and increase their voluntary efforts. In this way will be developed the conditions upon which a growing organization can be nurtured and fed. The Appeal will have the information and give aid. It will attempt every way possible to keep the enrolled member intact. Under such conditions they can get on with a healthy, effective way. It makes no difference how small we are to begin with, the enrolled Army may be like a new beginning of Socialist propaganda in America, but the beauty of it is that every gain of this organization will raise its morale, courage and activity.

We are, therefore, asking our most active workers to sign the pledge and get in. Their example will beyond any doubt bring others in. After while those who never saw any propaganda work for Socialism will begin to feel a moral obligation laid upon their consciences that they cannot escape. WE WILL SOON BE BREAKING IN AND TRAINING AN EVER GROWING ARMY OF PROPAGANDISTS.

Maybe you have always been a constant worker for the Appeal and you think you do not have to take a pledge to do work. You may not have to take such a pledge for yourself, but for the sake of those who do not work for the Cause they believe in, and those who have worked until their hearts are broken and are despairing, YOU MUST HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY NOW TO START A MOVEMENT THAT WILL GROW AND DRAW THEM ALL IN AND MAKE REAL WORKERS OF THEM AND WILL MEAN A NEW LIFE FOR THEM.

THIS IS A SUPREME OPPORTUNITY TO BE OF SERVICE. WILL YOU BE ONE TO LEAD OUT AND START THIS THING THAT PROMISES TO BECOME SO BIG AND USEFUL? Sign up and send to the American Appeal the pledge on the front page AT ONCE.

## Appeal Army Activities

### Army Report

Returns from the Appeal Army for the week ending May 14 WERE THE FOLLOWING: THE APPEAL IS PILING UP A DANGEROUS INACTIVITY OF THE ARMY WILL MEAN THE EARLY SUSPENSION OF THE APPEAL. EVERY MEMBER OF THE ARMY MUST TAKE THIS TO HIMSELF OR HERSELF AND GET BUSY AT ONCE. See if you can't change this record NEXT WEEK!

Here is the record for the week:  
Cards 2,000  
Bundles 40.00  
Subscriptions 82.24  
Promotion & Sustaining Fund 12.00  
Total \$136.24

### Fund Report

Gifts to the American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund for the week ending May 14 dropped to \$12.00. WE ARE ESPECIALLY IN NEED OF GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THIS QUARTER TO PAY FOR POSTAGE IN OUR PRESENT NATIONAL-WIDE CAMPAIGN TO SUPPORT THE APPEAL ON A SELF-SUPPORTING BASIS. We are starting a general bombardment by mail which will not end until the Appeal is entirely out of danger and on a definitely growing basis.

The Promotion and Sustaining Fund has been a godsend in the past in furnishing just the extra money we had to have to promote the Appeal through the mails. WE NEED MONEY FROM THIS SOURCE OF SUPPLY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. WE WANT \$500 FOR POSTAGE AT ONCE FROM THE SUPPORTERS OF THE PROMOTION AND SUSTAINING FUND. IT WILL MAKE THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN A BIG SUCCESS. GIVE AS YOU NEVER GAVE BEFORE AND AT ONCE.

Here is the record for the week:

Contributions  
T. P. Costello, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00  
Arpad Molnar, Sr., Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00  
Joseph Bold, Penn. Pa. 1.00  
Joseph Slavko, Bethlehem, Pa. 1.00  
Hating Hancock, East Liverpool, Ohio 1.00

### On Pledges

Jugoslav Branch No. 114, Detroit, Mich. 5.00  
H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash. 1.00  
Total \$12.00  
Previously reported \$1,156.74  
Total gifts since January 1 \$1,168.74

### Labor Dental Clinic

#### A Great Achievement

NEW YORK.—Forty thousand men and women employed in the ladies' garment industry have been treated within the last ten years at the dental clinic of the Union Health Center, established by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, according to a report issued yesterday by Dr. George M. Price, director of the center. The dental clinic is a pioneer in union health activities and is today easily the foremost institution of its kind.

The dental department came into being as a result of an investigation in 1913 by the U. S. Public Health Service which, in connection with the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, conducted an inquiry into the physical condition of 3,000 men and women employed in the garment trades. The condition of their teeth was so alarming that the need was strongly stressed for decent dental work for workers at a cost they could afford. The dental clinic then became a fact and it is now one of the greatest health safeguards these workers have.

### Child Endowment Idea

#### Is Spreading Rapidly

Australia will not be alone long in the practice of the new Labor and Socialist principle—endowing the children of the workers with an income. New Zealand, which has a strong Labor minority which has been pushing this idea, has just enacted a law to endow each child after the first two, under 15 years of age, with a government allowance of 50 cents per week. Under the law, a family of five children, all under 15, would receive \$1.50 per week from the government.

### This Is What You Have Been Looking For

"AMERICAN COMMUNISM," by James O'Neal, a standard authority on this question that you cannot afford to be without \$1.50  
"WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T," by John M. Work, a real text book on Socialism—answers all the questions on the subject that are put to you by day. Revised edition in cloth .50  
"LETTERS TO JUDY," by Upton Sinclair. These letters were printed serially in THE AMERICAN APPEAL and won much favorable comment .15  
"THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE," by Walter Thomas Mills, a standard work and now much in demand 3.00  
"HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM," by Irvin St. John Tucker; of particular interest at this time; regular price \$2.25, special now 1.50  
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### Two Fine Debs Pictures

Make your light bread a certain way and you will have bread that will certainly delight you; do a certain thing and you can fail to have fine light white bread even from poor flour. Coffee cake, doughnuts, or anything else made from bread or sponge will not be as pleasant. Receipt fifty cents, no stamps. Box 712 Lovelock, Nevada. Adv.

### Order Now

We have two fine pictures of Eugene V. Debs that our comrades and many others who were friends of Debs want. The prices are made unusually low, so that all the friends of Debs may secure one for their home, their office, or for the organization of which you are a member. Socialists and Branches, Unions and other organizations may secure now. Don't wait until they are gone. A reproduction of an original painting by Artist M. Baer, in color, 1924. Price one dollar. An enlargement of a Photograph. Price five dollars. Order from National Headquarters, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

### The Labor World

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## The Situation in China

China is perhaps the scene of the most significant developments in the world at this moment, unless Great Britain has just taken that place. For several weeks the American Appeal has refrained from printing purported "news" from China because information from that quarter of the globe has so palpably fallen into the hands of the capitalist-imperialist would-be looters of China that the reports of one day are flatly contradicted by the rumors of the next day.

Out of the smoke of this poison gas propaganda, however, several big facts have emerged:

A second ultimatum was not delivered to China because of a split among the imperialist powers. When thieves fall out honest men get their dues. Smashing against the aroused sentiments of 400,000,000 people is an extremely risky business for traders nations seeking an outlet for surplus value calculated at the cost of death. The individual selfishness of each nation seeking advantages over every other nation, probably played the major role for once in averting an international calamity.

The apparently sudden change of front on the part of the United States in China has not yet been explained. The United States was obviously fol-

lowing England in a great imperialist adventure in China and England was bragging about it in the London papers. America was the leading power to support Great Britain in the first note. It was a ridiculous situation in view of the fact that British possessions, British concessions, and trade in China lead the world, while in all these the United States trails at the other end. This accounts for the fact, perhaps, that sentiment against a war on China is especially strong in the United States, as the papers everywhere are overwhelmingly demonstrating, and this fact accounts for the switch of Coolidge and Kellogg to the more inviting pastures in Nicaragua and Mexico. It is significant that at the same time that the Coolidge-Kellogg administration (it would be a misnomer to call it the American government) was putting on a high and holy note of peace and righteousness in China, it was consummating one of the most cowardly and dastardly imperialist crimes in Nicaragua in modern times.

Thanks for this breathing space for China, the outlook for the revolution seems more encouraging than it did some weeks ago when the traitor, Chiang Kai-shek was chopping off the heads of labor leaders in Shanghai. Under the circumstances, however, there is a definite break between Chiang and the Kuomintang govern-

ment in Hankow. It would not at all be surprising if Chiang found himself in alliance with the northern militarists and their foreign allies before the civil war is over. His slaughter of workers is a good start in that direction.

In the meantime, it is now evident that the Hankow government bridged the first danger of quick dissolution following Chiang's act of treason. It is also evident that it is slowly gaining in power. General Feng, the so-called "Christian general," has definitely joined it with his army which is said to be well drilled and well equipped. Other generals and armies are with it. It has started a military campaign to the north and a great victory has been credited to it.

The triumph of the Hankow government, the most radical government in China, however, does not necessarily mean that China will bloom suddenly into a full-fledged communist or socialist state. China's industrial proletariat is too small to hope that it could seize or hold China long enough to inaugurate a new industrial system. The victory of the Hankow government, however, would mean a party and government friendly to labor and socialist ideas and Soviet Russia would be in control, and under this condition the opportunity for social progress would be at their best.

## Is There A Valid Reason for War?

By Lydia G. Wentworth

To a clear-headed and unprejudiced observer the outcome of warfare in general is so shocking and so absolutely unsatisfactory from every possible viewpoint, that he may well feel that scarcely anything could keep the populace of any country from rising in their might and refusing to participate in any way whatsoever in future war. Would not such an uprising be the natural reaction to the discovery of wholesale deliberate deception? What is the mental reaction to hypocrisy and deceit when we discover that we have been deceived and kept deceived with deliberate intention?

It is control of some particular foreign markets, or possession of undeveloped oil fields in another country, or any other business reason, a decent reason for warfare? And when people as a whole know that wars are maneuvered and brought about over those or similar causes while the world is spread that the country's honor has been assailed, and lies are actually invented to inflame the passions of everybody—when people as a whole know these

straight facts what will result? The time has come for the truth to be disseminated to the farthest village and hamlet. Then let the masses speak! No true friend of the people need fear their decision—nor need any honest believer in democracy.

At present it looks as if the revolt against war were under way in England for a campaign is going on there for the signing of a pledge against war that is absolute—not provisional. If the people respond as the leaders hope, who are working with fervent zeal, it will not be long before England will be hailed as the first nation to have renounced the one that has blotted out international warfare from among men! Will the United States become a close second? Why not? Can a more glorious undertaking be imagined than one that will free the world from the curse of war?

But why the timid who still believe that fighting forces must be depended on for peace and security in spite of the proof to the contrary proclaimed to the world by the late conflict—why must be prepared for defense against aggression? How can we protect ourselves without

defensive armaments? O ye of little faith! Ye who believe that truth is mighty and shall prevail! Ye who believe not that the mightiest forces in the world are the thoughts that impel to action! Ye who read not the lesson of Europe that war leads not to security, but to further and more devastating conflict! We do not need armies and navies and airplane forces for defense from aggression. What we need, and all that we need, is the determined and courageous attitude of mind that resolves that nothing—however specious the excuses—nothing shall ever again prevail to get us into a war. We can prevent it if we choose, if our will for peace be strong enough to inspire us with unalterable conviction. Nothing can withstand the force of an aroused public opinion.

Comrade Wentworth has written a leaflet in which this article and other equally strong and important matter against war and preparedness are embodied. You can get these leaflets free from The Association to Abolish War, Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass.

plus the \$1.25 per child. The scheme is not considered satisfactory, though the state principle of child endowment is established.

**Socialists Milk Supply**  
The Labor government now controls the milk in the metropolitan area of Sydney. A board representing the farmers and consumers regulates supply and distribution, and fixes prices. The board also has power to acquire or lease any milk seller, to license sellers to distribute milk on its behalf, and to conduct stations for milk, dairy products, ice and other foodstuffs. It may establish laboratories for research, and may prohibit the use of unwholesome milk.

**Increase Labor Railway Control**  
In New South Wales the Labor government is amending the railways act to permit one of the commissioners to be representative of the workers elected by them. The government is also putting an end to the bonus and piecework system in the railway workshops.

A manifesto issued at Melbourne on behalf of the labor organizations states that the piecework and bonus systems, as operated in America, will not be tolerated in Australia.

**Coolidge Prosperity Hits Women Workers**  
St. Paul.—The average weekly wage for women during 1925-26, according to the Industrial Commission of Minnesota.

Of the 33,741 women and boys covered by the report, 3,157 received less than \$12 a week; 9,110 received \$12 and under \$15; 14,638 received \$15 and under \$20; while only 9,249 received \$20 a week and over.

The Minneapolis Labor Review reminds its readers that "the report does not state to what extent the 33,741 wage earners invested their savings in stocks and bonds."

**Supreme Court for Syndicalist Laws**  
(Continued from Page 1)  
ERNMENT IS NOT REQUIRED. ONLY PROOF OF EXPRESSION OF VIEWS, OR SPREAD OF PROPAGANDA OPPOSED TO THE PREVALENT THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT, ARE REQUIRED TO BRING CONVICTION.

In the many cases of conviction for criminal syndicalism there has been no proof of overt acts. In the majority of such cases there has been no attempt to prove that the defendant tried by any act to overthrow the government.

## Trust Grabs for Giant Power Site

(Continued from Page 1)  
electric current could be sold at the plant for half a cent per kilowatt hour. It could be delivered to consumers in private homes at less than 3 cents. The rates charged by the local company for many years were 10 cents to the householder, until a public utilities commission reduced them to 7 1/2 cents. This electricity is produced in steam plants.

The Byllesby application is made under the name of the Potomac River Corporation, in which H. M. Byllesby & Co. of Chicago—one of the important "independents" actually controlled by the General Electric group—has a one-half interest. Robert Bulkley of Cleveland is president of the Potomac River Corporation, which talks of a \$55,000,000 development, involving a possible 300,000 horse power. Its application was submitted by Colonel Charles Keller, a former army engineer and District commissioner, who is now a Byllesby agent.

Sen. Norris is in the west, but Sen. La Follette, the leading socialist, has questioned postponement of action by the federal commission until Congress shall again be in session. Since one branch of Congress has repeatedly declared for exclusive public development under federal ownership of this project, La Follette is right in attempting to give the site away while Congress is out of town.

The incident adds to the long list of reasons for bringing Congress back to Washington in special session. President Coolidge, opposing any public development of power for sale to utilities, has been more opposed to permitting Congress to assemble this summer.

Citizens' associations in the capital, however, are taking action to persuade the federal power commission that no preliminary permit to construct should be given until they look upon this move as a threat, if not the actual deathknell, to all future reductions in rates for electricity in this region. They favor government ownership and government distribution of electricity because they expect to get the rate down, by that means, to 3 cents or less.

## Wood Sells Out State Business

(Continued from Page 1)  
defensiveness people is a tale that should make the blood of every honest American boil.

The growing and succeeding Filipino publicly owned enterprises were created by acts of the Filipino legislature. The majority of the members of which were Filipinos. Dictator Wood began his fight early to smash these industries so dangerous to the capitalists and imperialists.

He arbitrarily dismissed the board of directors, and in the meantime he had the board refused to be dismissed and met regularly to administer the state industries.

Wood had the case carried to the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands. The majority of that body is composed of Americans. EVERETT AMERICAN JUDGE VOTED THAT THE PHILIPPINE BOARD OF CONTROL WAS ILLEGAL. EVERY FILIPINO JUDGE VOTED THAT IT WAS LEGAL. The Fascist dictator of the Philippines promptly took possession of the case and is now auctioning them to American magnates.

The whole affair is a raw, brazen act of international banditry. It follows Coolidge's recent refusal to let the Filipinos vote on the question of their own independence.

Capitalism Totters In Europe  
(Continued from Page 1)  
ENT MACHINERY MORE GOODS WOULD BE PRODUCED THAN THE OWNERS COULD SELL TO THE UNDERPAID POPULATION OF EUROPE.

In view of this fact it is significant that the capitalists give as one of the causes of European unemployment—DEARNESS OF LABOR. This is false both as to fact and philosophy. European wages are far lower in comparison with the cost of production than in America. If labor were really cheaper than before the war it would have a greater purchasing power and European industry would be running at an INCREASED rate.

What European capitalists mean by "dear" labor is that they are less able to pay labor than before and maintain their profits in the face of a threatened overproduction, clogging of the markets and loss of capitalist profits.

European capitalism is in the vicious circle of ruin predicted by Socialists ever since the rise of Socialism. Socialists have always predicted that capitalism would end in a vast unemployment crisis that it could not take care of and preserve the system. Now in Geneva the world's Economic Conference, which really is an emergency gathering, ADMITS THAT EUROPE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO EMPLOY ITS 20,000,000 UNEMPLOYED WITHOUT CHANGING THE SYSTEM.

## Hindus Win Fight For Citizenship

Sixty-nine Hindus who had American citizenship papers prior to 1923 have been restored to full rights by the Department of Justice and their papers returned to them. Under Justice Sutherland's ruling in 1923 about 3000 other Hindus now in this country are ineligible to citizenship, as they are not "Whites" in the popular sense of the word. The 69 were naturalized as "Aryans" before this decision.

## APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

## Post War Socialist Thought

### The Psychological Trend to Socialism

In Six Articles  
Article V

#### Hobson on Industrial Incentives

A further contribution to the study of the psychological forces now operative in industry and those that may be expected under a new social order is that of John A. Hobson's incentives in the New Industrial Order. In this book the British economist shows that the old incentives are breaking down and analyzes various incentives that might supersede the profit motive under public ownership. Following his survey of the situation, Hobson concludes:

"While nothing can be more certain than that the old arrangements of incentives to efficient industry will no longer work, and need to be replaced by new ones, it is equally certain that the psychology of this reform must be adapted to the special technical and human conditions of the business in each industry, with close regard to the racial and other natural and educated characters of the employees. Finally, the pace and extent to which reformed industrial methods are capable of application will largely depend upon the education of the general body of industrial consumers and their willingness to give serious attention to the central processes of industrial government through an intelligently ordered state."

In his latest book, *Free Thought in the Social Sciences*, he especially emphasizes the waste of incentives under the present system.

"I hold," he declares, "that the true labor case lies, not in an insistence that labor is the sole source of wealth, still less in the narrow meaning of labor which excludes or disregards brain work, but in a close, informed insistence upon the appli-

cation of the incentives applied to evoke all the best physical and intellectual powers of production in their right proportions and combinations. The present application of incentives arises from the unsatisfactory conditions of the markets in which the various requisites of production are bought and sold, that is to say, in the bad conditions for the distribution of the economic product in the form of income. This, in its turn, is due to an inequality of bargaining power, which gives an unfair advantage at each stage to the buyer or the seller, resulting in a treble wasteful apportionment of income. Those who get more than suffices to evoke the best use of their ability, labor, land, or other productive instrument, they sell them at a price that 'surplus' wastefully, either in setting productive power to make luxuries for their consumption, or in enabling themselves to consume their share of work to the common stock, or else in selling productive power to make increased increments of production in excess of possible demand. Those who get less than is required to support and evoke their best use of their labor, or other productive instrument, are thereby rendered less efficient producers. These two wastes of overpayment and underpayment are evidently the convex and the concave of the same fact. But this realization of the true origin and nature of 'waste' in our economic system involves a complicated analysis of many different sorts of barriers, and is not easily accomplished to the needs of an inspiring myth."

"Through this increase of wealth and its equitable distribution, we envisage a state of society in which political power, the arts, the sciences and the general culture will also be diffused. To the masses will be brought for the first time the enjoyment of the benefits of modern civilization."

This side of the socialist indictment has also been recently emphasized by Chase, Webb and the members of the Committee of the British Labor party, and others.

—H. W. Laidler.

This splendid series of articles by Laidler, which comes to an end next week, is from his new book, just off the press—"History of Socialist Thought." No American Socialist, or person desiring to understand Socialism, can afford to be without this book. It is published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, contains 713 highly interesting and enlightening pages, and the price is \$3.50.

## Mexico And The Oil Industry

Editor's Note  
The following article, by a prominent member of the research staff of the League for Industrial Democracy, which has been received through Dr. Laidler, our feature editor, is timely, considering the oil suits now awaiting decision by the Mexican Supreme court. That decision may cause the present United States administration to choose between force and arbitration to settle the dispute, again bringing the war danger very near. In view of this situation, the present Supreme drive of Calles to finish the Mexican Catholic revolt, is unquestionably one of the trump cards upon which the American interests hostile to Mexico and their political agents in Washington are depending.

—M. E. K.

### By Inez Poliak (Research Assistant, League for Industrial Democracy)

During the full in the controversy, while the suits brought by American companies are being tried in the Mexican courts, it may be well to recall the facts in this case, so as to be able to judge intelligently when the dispute is handed down and the crisis comes.

The Mexican Constitution of May 1, 1917 embodies the aims of the Revolution of 1910 that overthrew Diaz. Ever since his fall Mexico has struggled to establish a stable democratic society free from the domination of powerful land owners and church dignitaries. To carry out these ideals the new Constitution among other provisions, nationalized all church property and all subsoil rights to mineral and mineral oil deposits, and gave the state the right to acquire land for foreigners to acquire land at all.

**The Land and Petroleum Laws**  
With the election of the Socialist President Calles in 1924 by a majority of 1,200,000 votes, the country set vigorously to work to carry out the policies of the new Constitution. Calles was given "extraordinary powers" in labor and financial matters. The Government tightened up enforcement of the educational and religious laws. As part of the land program by September 1, 1925 five million acres of land, some of them national but largely the old communal lands owned by National Agrarian Commission, had been distributed to 400,000 persons. Most important of all, from the standpoint of foreign interests in Mexico, the Government passed the Petroleum Law to go into effect the first of January, 1927, and the Alien Land Law which is now also in operation.

**Refusal of Companies to Obey Law**  
Strengthened by our Government's attitude twenty-two companies, including most of the large ones, refused, at the last minute, in spite of advice of counsel, to obey the law on pre-constitution property. While Kellogg saw red, and the country grew alarmed, the Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor calmly cancelled their permits for drilling wells. The companies applied for injunction against any interference with their property, some of which were granted, some not. If the Mexican Supreme Court refuses to uphold the injunctions, the present diplomatic truce will come to an end. The United States will have to choose between arbitration and war as the means of settling a dispute over rights of property.

**American Investments in Mexico**  
Perhaps one can pardon Secretary Kellogg's interest in Mexican law when one considers the amount of property there that is owned by foreigners. Out of a total national wealth placed officially at four and a half billion dollars, well over one billion belongs to American investors. The investments of England, Holland, Spain and all other foreign countries probably come to another billion. In addition the Mexican foreign debt with principal and interest amounts to \$700,000,000, on which Calles has just paid the interest due of \$12,000,000, in spite of the disturbed condition of the country. This is the picture of an "independent" nation, one that can call only one half its wealth its own!

**Who Owns Mexico's Petroleum**  
The petroleum industry with a value on Dec. 31, 1926 of \$650,000,000 and one that has been most conspicuous of the foreign ownership of Mexico's resources. At the end of 1924, according to the official Bulletin issued by the Department of Petroleum, Mexicans had contributed only 3 per cent of the capital invested in the industry, and owned only 11 percent of the acres operated. Refineries were all owned by American, English and

famous Amparo decrees—to the effect that the clause would not be retroactive—the very day that the American representatives arrived in Mexico City to consider the oil suits. It was on the basis of these decrees and on Obregon's assurance that there would be no confiscation of American property that the United States, in 1923, resumed the diplomatic relations with Mexico that lapsed with the overthrow of Carranza by Huerta in 1920.

Imagine the amazement of the Americans when they discovered that the new Petroleum Law provided that all titles to land acquired before May 1, 1927, as well as titles acquired subsequently, should be exchanged for the investment of foreign capital can be very useful to the country concerned, or if the power that goes with it be abused, it can in the end do more harm than good. The European countries, and more than 200,000,000, building had for years from China as doing its best to drive into the sea foreigners and all that belongs to them.

**By Fair Means and Foul**  
There is no doubt that the Mexicans have evidence against the oil companies. For one thing their agents by fair means or foul took advantage of the ignorance of the owners of the true value of their land. When a certain Jacinto, who had visited Texas, saw the oil fields for his share in the Cerrito Azul plantation, now one of the most valuable of the Huasteca Company properties, he was promptly murdered, and his two assassins were poisoned before a confession could be obtained. A Mexican Deputy has sworn that before a recent election he was in congress, without having his truth questioned. Another Deputy declared that probably 90 percent in the titles of this Doherty company were usurped—training for Elk Hills, one is tempted to add. Again Mexican land owners are now winning a test case before the Supreme Court. The case involves some \$500,000,000 owned by the companies on contracts to pay 10 percent of the value of the output as royalties, where an average of only twenty cents a barrel was actually paid. Mention has already been made of the army the operators maintained to protect their properties. And when protection demanded the advance of millions of dollars to help or hinder a revolution, that too was forthcoming. In fact several of the upheavals have been held to be more or less directly due to the conflict of interests between the American and the British groups.

With this background there is little cause for wonder either that the Mexicans have taken steps to get the industry into their own hands, or that certain companies refuse to give up their "rights."

(Continued on Page 4)

## Coolidge Makes Cowardly Dodge on Third Term Issue

Will Not Acknowledge or Deny Own Name on Anti-Third Term Petition

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Calvin Coolidge, seeking a third term in the presidency of the United States, has drawn down upon himself the contempt and private ridicule of scores of press correspondents in Washington. When on Friday, the 13th day of May, more than 25 written questions were put to him, at the regular press conference at the White House, as to how he stood in 1912 and how he now stands on the third term issue, he stood silent.

These questions were given excuse by the statement of Michael J. O'Shea of Worcester, Mass., that he has the signature of Coolidge on a petition circulated in 1912, in favor of making anyone ineligible to be elected as President or Vice-President who has served two terms, or any parts of two terms, in the White House. O'Shea was a Republican politician of the old Murray Crane machine, to which Coolidge belonged. Crane was fighting against the re-nomination of Roosevelt in 1912, and made a loud protest against the third-term ambition of T. R.

When these questions, worded in many forms, and all designed to draw a denial or admission of the O'Shea claim, or a definite declaration of Coolidge's present views on the third term issue, were turned face down on the President's table in the press conference room, the correspondents realized that Coolidge was in a hole. If he had not signed the petition in 1912 he had made a hit by saying so. His silence could be construed only as an admission that he did sign. The petition, which was submitted to Congress in 1912, called for a constitutional amendment which should make permanent the "unwritten law which prohibits any person to hold office (the presidency) a third term. Standing silent as to whether he joined in that petition, and whether he has since changed his mind, and as to where he now stands on the issue of limiting to 8 years the tenure of the White House by any man, Coolidge became a defendant before the bar of press opinion.

## Irish Labor Faces Splendid Prospects

DUBLIN, Ireland.—The Irish Labor Party is in the midst of great preparations for the parliamentary elections, June 6, this year. Conditions are highly favorable for a substantial increase in the number

## Chicago Labor Radio Now Leading Station

WCFL, the only labor radio broadcast station in the United States, took its place among the leading stations in the country at the opening of its new studios in the Brunswick Building at 823-825 S. Wabash avenue, on Wednesday evening, May 4. These two new studios, which will be known as the Brunswick Recording Studios, added materially to the equipment and serviceability of WCFL which is owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WCFL has a program second to none. It includes an hour a day devoted to subjects especially interesting to Organized Labor, frequent educational talks, reports to farmers on markets, crops, weather conditions, and other subjects of special interest to them. The station will be the official broadcasting medium of the Teachers' Federation, Musicians' Union, Actors' Equity and other organizations of artists. In addition to these and other features, the greater part of the time will be devoted to entertainment programs, largely musical in character, supported by the very best talent.

An official announcement stating the principles of this Labor broadcasting station says: "It is the only station in the United States through which Labor can proclaim its principles and ideals. It is the voice of more than five millions of members of Labor Unions and Farmers' Unions. It is not operated for profit, but for public service only. It stands unalterably for the freedom of the air as well as for freedom of speech and of the press. All other leading stations are owned by Capital, and speak the voice of Capital."

## Labor Government Endows Children

The Labor government of New South Wales, Australia, has set up a child endowment scheme, to come into operation when the next minimum wage is fixed. Under this scheme a payment of \$1.25 per week is to be made for each child under 14 years of age, providing the wage of the parent is below the minimum wage.



# U. S. Labor Turning Toward Industrial Control

## Conference on Waste Reveals Awakening Social Interest

By Israel Mufson  
(Secretary, Labor College of Philadelphia)

The Conference on the Elimination of Waste in Industry, held on April 9 and 10 under the joint auspices of the Central Labor Union and the Labor College of Philadelphia, in which industrial engineers, economists and labor representatives participated in a discussion of some of the outstanding problems of industry, has three definite important possibilities. (1) It may broaden the scope of workers' education to include the study of practical matters confronting the workers and interest far more people than classroom work ever could; it may give direction to the thinking of the rank and file in a constructive manner about industry; and it may make possible the application of industrial principles for the introduction of democracy in industry. These hopes may seem far-fetched to those who have developed attitudes based either upon the world of yesterday or the preconceived world of tomorrow. But to those who recognize that life and methods for living do change and that changes are not miracles of substance, such a conference as organized for the first time in Philadelphia may hold hope.

### Production a Concern of the Worker

Indeed, labor laughed when the proposal was first made that it become interested in such a conference. Then it became angry. "What!" said the conservative trade unionist, railing in righteous indignation against a proposal that had no roots in tradition. "What!" exclaimed the conservative in angry amazement. "You actually propose to consider the problems of production? That's the boss's business. What we need is a strong organization to take care of the pay envelope. Away with such strange notions. They will be the ruin of the labor movement yet."

Thus the leading spokesmen for both the conservatives and the radicals in the labor movement fraternized in their ridicule and in their heaping of contumely upon the proposed conference. Yet, after the conference was over and conservative and radical had had an opportunity to forget their preconceived prejudices while participating in the discussions, there was a very little resentment and a good deal of quiet satisfaction from both sides. They learned that the question of a strong labor movement and a change in the present system did not preclude consideration of the factors inherent in present day industry. As a matter of fact, they found that these problems were all sort of linked up together; that labor could very well take advantage of greater knowledge of the present system and the building up of its unions and making its position more secure in industry; and that the problems of distribution were not entirely those of distribution but of production as well.

No matter what our philosophy of life, the present system did not preclude of industry we get our livelihood and through industry we shall continue to create the necessities of life indefinitely. It is on the basis of the mechanical arts built up that our civilization rests. Whether we like the machine age or we cannot go back to the more simple days of the handicraft period, even were we so inclined. So whatever knowledge we can obtain about the methods of job control and greater industrial perfection the more comfortable will the workers find themselves and the more abundant will life be for all members of society. The problems of distribution will always be with us. Therein lies the conflict of interests. But the problems of production can be faced cooperatively. Labor would be, and has been, as speakers pointed out during the conference, immeasurably benefited by developing a functional position in industry.

### Upholstery Weavers Tackle Production

"Well, let me tell you," emphasized Tobias Hall, a white-haired knight of the Upholstery Weavers Union No. 25, during the very first session of the conference, "that whether we had the plan all thought out or not we were forced to take control of our industry in self protection. We did not know as the time what we were doing would be called union-management cooperation nor did we worry much if we had no name for it. But we were concerned over the fact that no one seemed to worry much whether the looms were in running order or whether the picks were up to standard so they would not smash or whether the threads were of the best quality so they would not break continually. And all of these things, when they happened, and they happened very often, meant stoppages and waste and smaller pay at the end of the week. The boss did not seem to care about these matters. But the weaver at his loom, when things went wrong through no fault of his own, did worry, because while the work was there he could not apply himself to the task."

Such testimony may not seem important in the higher problems surrounding a complete social change, but when we consider the upholders as human beings with families to support and stronger interest in contemporaneous existence than in historical consequences, we can forgive them for feeling deeply towards their organization which tackled the problems of their industry with a consequent fattening of the workers' pay envelopes.

### Militancy Plus Constructive Vision

And even looking at the question from the wider viewpoint of future social developments, how much better that labor know of the intricate problems of management and participate in their solution than to stand aloof because someone is making a profit out of industry. Going to school in preparation for the future is much better than standing on the sidelines and barking slogans at those who would learn by doing. Gustave Geiges, keen, intelligent, forward looking, the new type of labor leader that is cooperating with management in order to maintain standards for his workers, would be ready to manage a plant tomorrow were fate to order his life in that direction. As President of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, he showed as thorough a knowledge of the industry as any of the speakers. "I do not mean that a trade union should be one bit less militant than in the days past," he concluded his remarkable analysis of the full fashioned industry. "Our organization is every bit as ready to fight today as it ever was but we are much wiser than we were in our earlier days."

We want to get our rights without the waste required by warfare. And if we apply our intelligence as well as our courage I believe it can be done.

"The position we take with our workers is this. We say that the union must win increased benefits for the workers by making the services members render to the industry so invaluable that the industry will be bound to recognize the need for encouraging this improved service. We have gone into certain shops in this city (Philadelphia) in the past few weeks where production had fallen off. We investigated why the people were not doing their best work. Their employers have thereby been firmly converted to the idea of doing business through the union and one less menace of trouble and waste in the industry has been removed. We believe we are demonstrating the great superiority of trade union organization as against the company union and the so-called welfare work."

### The Industrial Engineer Sees Need for Trade Unions

The next day, Sunday morning to be exact, the industrial engineers made their contribution to this problem of waste in industry. Some of these men who control the operations of large industrial plants are beginning to think. And they are thinking in terms of human beings and not of machine parts only. They are thinking of men's spirit and mental adjustments; of the workers' comfort and adequate compensation.

"The processes by which the craftsman's skill was gradually transferred to the machine throughout the nineteenth century," said Geoffrey C. Brown, Consulting Engineer and member of American Society of Mechanical Engineers, "left the workers without interest or initiative in their tasks. Further specialization, as plants increase in size and processes multiply, further deskills the workers. There is a need of bringing back in some way the conception of the product from start to finish. This can be accomplished by the workers sharing in the study of each job as it is scheduled through the plant to give them a relationship and an interest in the finished product. A joint job analysis committee, representing organized labor and management, to determine the factors of each job, equity, safety, interest and economy, should be established in every industry."

"To have such a committee of any benefit to the workers," Brown concluded, "it must be reinforced by a trade union. The company union is entirely inadequate to deal properly with the situation. The company union is deficient in general vitality and possesses no economic power. After careful study of the company union I have no hesitancy in stating that it can never replace a genuine trade union."

### The Tragedy of Unemployment

The engineer looks at the labor problem. All this deals with labor while at work. What about the man who pounds the pavement in highest prodigious effort for a most aggravated form of waste and can unemployment be approached as an engineering study? The engineers, in their efforts to eliminate waste from industry, must consider unemployment with relation to the whole question, otherwise they will not be in a position to eliminating itself out of a job. That's just the point, Mr. Morris L. Cooke, Consulting Engineer and presiding at this Sunday Morning's session, said, as he opened the third sitting of the conference.

"This conference," he said, "should be reminded that unemployment is the most important single source of waste. Only as the American people cultivate the will to do away with unemployment in its various forms will the stage really be set for our highest productive effort. Until we can guarantee to the individual a higher measure of protection in making his or her contribution to the increasing effectiveness of our national production, our enthusiasm must necessarily be tempered by the thought that each step forward the specter of unemployment is actually raised. A guaranteed number of weeks of employment during the year as practiced in the garment industry in Cleveland or any one of the various schemes for unemployment insurance and other such devices may afford the worker some measure of protection. But after all, looked at from

the national and economic standpoint what we all want is the substance of continuous employment rather than protection against unemployment."

The night before, when labor and management gathered at a banquet in the third session of the conference, the same subject, unemployment, was dealt with from the standpoint of an economist. Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale, in speaking of labor's attitude on the evolutionary trends of industry, practically expressed views in harmony with Mr. Cooke's. He went a step further. Any labor displaced by improved methods should be absorbed by the industry benefiting by such improvement, even if a law must be passed to make such practice mandatory upon industry, Prof. Fisher thought.

### President Green on Industrial Accidents

The conference wound up with a mass meeting on Sunday afternoon at which the principal speaker was William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. "Back of all the collective skill, strength and power of all the working people of our Nation," he said, "is the soul and mind which give inspiration and impetus to all their physical powers. These unseen forces must be given an opportunity to function in concert with the strength and brawn of labor."

"The most tragic development of our industrial life is connected with the loss of human life and the mental and physical suffering caused by industrial accidents and unemployment. It is particularly deplorable because it strikes the breadwinner and, in addition to increasing expenses, stops the income upon which the family depends for support. Much of the loss of life caused by industrial accidents is morally indefensible and well nigh criminal."

"While industrial accidents cannot be absolutely eliminated the fact is that both fatal and non-fatal accidents can be greatly reduced. In this respect alone there is great opportunity to prevent human waste. The injury to society cannot be measured by the loss of the earnings sustained by a breadwinner through an industrial accident. There is no standard by which we can measure the daily suffering, degradation and mental anguish experienced by the workers, their wives and children who are victims of these industrial tragedies. Human life is so potential, so

secret and so valuable that all scientific knowledge should be used and all practical means and methods employed for its conservation and protection."

### Lessons of the Conference

The first conference where labor management for the purpose of discussing industrial problems in mutual interest was over. But the hope is that it will lead the way to a broadening of trade union interests and activity that may have widespread benefits. As I pointed out at the very beginning, three definite trends may result therefrom. The conference may broaden the scope of workers' education. That will depend upon whether more of such conferences will be held in the future. Secondly, it may give direction to the thinking of the rank and file in a constructive manner about industry, upon the follow-up and how wide labor can be made interested in such conferences. The third possibility is the possibility of applying scientific methods for industrial democracy into industry—that of course will depend entirely upon the attitude of the employers. Thus far, one reviewing American industry cannot be too optimistic in analyzing the position of the owners. Many of the largest industries follow a labor policy that is far removed from the policy outlined as ideal by the conference. They still refuse to accept labor as an intelligent agency in managerial direction and hand down orders in the good, old-fashioned way. Others, and their numbers are legion, have established that industrial canons—known as company unions—described by Mr. Brown as too anemic and lacking the economic power which would make it possible to function effectively in the solution of any industrial problem. This leaves but very few industries where the lessons learned at this conference could be applied.

### Joining Science and Labor

But, regardless of the attitude of the owner of industry, labor should take advantage of every opportunity for further learning. The possibilities inherent in a class room where industrial engineers and workers are both students, are tremendous. And the conference has definitely brought to light that when science and labor join forces all other obstacles to better social adjustments can and will be overcome.

## Farmer and Worker Discuss the Agricultural Problem

Union Men Vote for Present Conditions, Farmer Tells Parsons

### Editor's Note

The following is only part of an interesting article received by the Appeal from William Penrose, an Arkansas farmer. We regret that on account of lack of space we cannot give Mr. Penrose's article in full. Again we remind those who wish to discuss the farm question to make their articles as brief as the subject will allow.

By William Penrose

(Huxley, Arkansas)

In his article in the American Appeal, O. C. Parsons, who is evidently an industrial worker and a railroad man, indicates how little he understands his own problem. He does not understand that what we are talking about is not a matter of wages, but a matter of power. He is like himself, purely and simply a wage worker, but compelled, unlike himself, to place what he grows on what is called the market (a misnomer) and accept whatever is given him as compensation for his work. This clearly is his wages.

Senator Capper refers to a farmer who shipped 700 bushels of potatoes to the so-called market and received \$1.31 for the load. We then get the story that these same potatoes were wrapped in tissue paper and sold to the neighbor in cans at 8 cents each. Secretary Davis said in a recent article that there were one million farmers in the United States whose incomes are \$100 and less. Assuming that these million farmers have average families of five with two to three workers to the family, we have about three workers receiving \$100 a year, which would be less than 10 cents per day per worker. How do we compare with those with whom neighbor Parsons is grouped? Why a bootblack, a grocery, a bellboy are better compensated!

Our agricultural department reports that a day laborer on the farm receives greater compensation than the average farmer. That the farmers were robbed to the tune of \$50,000,000,000 in 1920 is history, and they are only to begin to get what is left. Experience and not the capitalist press has taught the farmer where he is at.

Neighbor Parsons' distress signal is belated not to get back what has been taken, but to have the taking stopped, but organized labor invariably joins with what he calls Wall Street at the baited box in supporting the plundering controlled political organizations that the good work may go on.

By the side of the Parsons article, ex-Secretary Meredith says that the American farmer is headed for peasantry like that in Europe. Who doubts this? Why, all over the

southern country practically all farm production is in the hands of labor. Look into their homes and then look into that of neighbor Parsons and see which you would prefer. But enough here. What I have been watching in these articles is to see what my Socialist friends have asked out as a solution for the ills of the world. What they mean by Socialism and how it would work. The writer started as a greenbacker in Peter Cooper days, helped nominate Weaver in 1880 and sat with my Arkansas comrades in the 1904 and 1908 conventions nominating comrade Debs.

### Offers Remedy for

### The Farm Problem

By Archibald Craig

(Jersey City, New Jersey)

Farmers are generally working people who think like capitalists. They want high prices for their products and low wages for their help. Any sustained improvement in the income of a farm, while it is privately owned, will result in increased land rent, making it more profitable to own farms but not more profitable to work on them.

It is not worth the while of anyone who is not governed by the land-owning interest to try to help the farmer, unless he has first made an agreement that the benefits of cooperative effort ought to go to the people who work at farming in the form of payment for work.

Propaganda ought to be directed toward higher wages for farm labor,

whether paid to laborers by farmers or to farmers by the government. The first step ought to be the formation of a farmers' union, whose members should be pledged not to raise cash crops unless guaranteed a market at a fair price in advance, the price being calculated on the basis of good wages for all work done.

Farmers should resolve to produce their own clothing and shelter rather than buy them at less than a fair labor exchange. If they cannot get good pay from others they can at least avoid robbing their soil for nothing.

Tobacco raisers have successfully carried out this principle by keeping each other from cutting prices. The movement can be started by getting the farmers to think of the value of their labor as their most important asset, and to demand as much for their time as workers in cities get for theirs.

If this movement is successful, all the workers will find out what needs to be done next. That is to cut down the profits of capitalists. The city workers get raises and the capitalists pass the costs on to the farmers. If the farmers also get raises, the benefits of the city unions will be gone, unless both farmers and mechanics combine to protect themselves against non-productive consumers.

The different varieties of producers must learn to exchange their products directly with each other, without paying toll to middlemen.

## Collective Farming Is Developing in Russia

By John B. Chapple

In only one European country is there a well-defined scientific program for bettering the mass of the agricultural population. That country is Russia.

The Russian peasants got land as the result of war and revolution. But it is realized that the possession of a small farm is not the goal of land reform, but merely the beginning.

Large scale, machine agriculture is coming. In other countries the machine age means the small peasant's enslavement to a new master. In Russia machine agriculture means not slavery, but emancipation.

The method is the introduction of modern technique not for the benefit of an owner, but for all. To the growth of collectivized farming the Soviet government gives whole-hearted support and there is already a union or cooperative of these collectivists.

Twenty or 30 or 100 small peasants agree to farm together. Perhaps they seek to avoid the tolls of rich peasants who exact heavy toll for the rent of machinery, or it is because the government, analysts collectivists by easier credits, or better results already achieved convince these farm-

ers that large-scale methods are superior. Frequently they leave their village and receive new land.

The method of farm operation is similar to that of a factory soviet. The members of the collectivized farm elect the management, fix the time for seeding, plan the expenditures, etc. The collectivists farms in some cases need pay only half taxes, so it is advantageous for a peasant with a small holding to join in a vigorous collective farm.

There are over 6000 collective farming societies with 120,000 members affiliated with the All-Russian Union of Agricultural Cooperatives.

The total number of collective farms of all kinds is 22,000, and the total area cultivated by them is 7,600,000 acres. Yet this represents but 2 percent of the possibilities of collectivization, for 97 percent of the land of Russia is in the hands of peasants. Of the remaining 3 percent in the possession of the state, some is in big model soviet farms, which though not collectivized, are instrumental in stimulating collectivization.

The soviet farms are big farms taken over from private landlords and operated on the factory system. A manager is sent by the commissariat

of agriculture and the workers are hired. The workers are protected by a labor code. The modern large-scale methods of these farms stimulate the peasants all around to form collectivists farms. The Russian Revolution has not only freed the Caucasus, run by former Americans, has noted a marked increase in tractors and industrial farming in the surrounding territory since it commenced operation.

Collectivist farming as an important development began in 1917, immediately after the revolution. In 1922 many hastily formed, uncooperative collectivists groups fell away. Today the movement is increasing steadily again.

The Soviet government, in stimulating both industrial and agricultural development, seeks to keep them balanced. Until now most emphasis has been placed upon industrial development because underproduction of industrial products placed a burden of high prices on city worker and farmer alike. Imports of machinery and other goods were limited but the Russian industry could not fill the gap quickly enough. Now production has increased. Both industry and agriculture are making rapid progress.

During the last two years nearly \$20,000,000 was granted by the government for financing farm colonies on the Volga. New grain culture in this vast territory is expected to end famines.

Will collectivized farming work under the capitalist system? The Secretary of the Peasants' International, who is in direct touch with the farm movements of 40 countries, is of the opinion that agricultural collectivism or cooperation cannot free the farmers, except under a farmers and workers government. These are a system in which industry and agriculture are balanced and producing for the benefit not of stockholders and landlords, but of the people.

### Farmers Eliminate Gasoline Middlemen

The farmers of Minnesota have for years led the nation in the promotion of cooperative enterprise. Their latest venture, according to reports reaching the Department of Agriculture, involves the buying and selling of motor oil and gasoline.

Over 30 stations have been established, with the result that the members are saving a lot of money on their "gas." Some of the stations are beginning to serve the general public.

### \$8 a Week for Farm Tenants

The government estimates that at least 100,000 families are living on eight dollars a week. They are to be found among the tenant farmers, especially in the southeastern states, such as Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina.

Their average cash income, according to a recent survey, amounts to about \$125 a year.

Tenant farming is on the increase. Tenant farming is based primarily on child labor. Some landlords will not rent to tenants without large families. They contend, and rightly so, that under existing conditions the tenant farmer cannot make average land pay unless he works his wife and children.

### Mexico and Oil

(Continued from Page 3)

of the total output, and the Transcontinental Co., subsidiary of the Standard Oil of New Jersey, which though it produces only about 10 percent, ships a sixth of the exports. Why, if as the Mexican government claims, these two groups have applications for concessions, but the latest Mexican statement says that 70 percent of the production of the 2 companies comes from concession land. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey just stated that the Transcontinental will refuse to receive the confirmatory concession issued to it.

### What American Interests Obey the Law

On the trail of these three leaders come the Sinclair interests, with about 8 percent of the total output. Although Mexican Sinclair itself has ignored the new law, the Mexicans claim that its affiliated companies who account for three quarters of its product have obeyed. Both sides agree that the Mexican Gulf Oil Co., controlled by the Mellons, has refused to apply for its properties contributing 6 percent of the total output. The remaining companies conceded by Mexico to have defied her produce only about 4 percent of the total.

Kellogg admits that the Penn-Mex Co., independent Standard Oil, with a production of over 3 percent, obeyed the law; also the New England Fuel Oil Co., another Standard Oil Co., the East Coast Oil Co., and the Texas Co., with a production of 2 percent of the production between them. It is interesting to note that these companies do not belong to the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico. In addition Secretary Kellogg failed to mention the subsidiaries of the Cities Service Corporation which own about 5 percent of the total, and the International Petroleum Co., allied to the Sinclair company, which has 7.5 percent of the output. There is also the Marland Oil Co., a Morgan interest, which produces 1 percent of the total.

The interests listed in the preceding paragraphs include all the companies producing as much as 1 percent of the total product. The three chief intruders, the old Doherty group, Sinclair and Mellon produced 41 percent of the total output of the first 11 months of 1926, but with the remaining 21 companies they only produced 44.1 percent of the total and controlled only 5.8 percent of the total pre-1917 holdings. If one includes the 30 percent from the non-concession lands of the Transcontinental and the Gulf, the three groups are left with half the total production. On the other side, seven big companies with 20 percent of the production are clearly obeying the law. And a hundred or so smaller companies producing over 10 percent of the output have also obeyed. Companies claiming to be both sides contribute over 20 percent of the total. Although this leaves the production figures weighted perhaps on the side of the rebellious companies, the Mexican figures show that confirmatory concessions have been granted on 27,148,250 acres, 44 percent of the pre-constitution property. However the official

## A. F. of L. Finds Labor Conditions Declining Under Newest Capitalist Methods

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Detroit, center of America's latest tremendously expanded industry — auto manufacturing — producer of wealth for the capitalist in staggering quantities, latest field of latest methods of production and the exploiting of labor, pays low wages, provides no insurance among the majority of the workers, exacts an unusual amount of toil and takes an unusually large share of the product. This is the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor after a survey of wages, profits and conditions taken preliminary to an organization campaign which will start this month.

Common labor, employed outside, at Detroit factories received from 45 to 50c an hour in July 1926. Common labor inside was paid 50c an hour on the average. Pig iron loaders received 50c, cupola chargers 62 to 70c, sand mixers 50 to 84c, machine molder 60c to \$1, assemblers in automobile plants 70 to 90c, assemblers outside 53 to 80c, electricians 70 to 75c, machinists 70 to 80c, shop carpenters 60 to 80c, hand truckers 45 to 50c and electric truckers 55 to 65c. The only maximum wage rates that were above \$1 an hour were \$1.15 maximum for crane makers and \$1.25 for wood pattern makers. Maximum wages of \$1 an hour were paid to machine makers, machine molders, hand floor molders on heavy work, machine operators on

production, and acetylene welders.

With these unusually low wages in comparison with the cost of living, the manufacturers are getting an unusually large share of the product, much the larger share, in fact, as the following figures indicate:

Production statistics for the industry in Detroit for 1925 show that the Ford factories, with 10,000 employees, turned out 2,051,167 cars that General Motors plants, with 278 employees, produced 926,740 cars that the Dodge plant, with 2,000 workers, made 279,206 cars; that the Chrysler plant, with 12,000 workers, produced 132,357 cars, and that the Hudson, with 10,000 employees, produced 109,401 cars of the Hudson type, while with a labor force specified it produced 154,536 cars.

These conditions are significant because they indicate the more recent tendencies in American industry. Another significant fact is that THE AUTO INDUSTRY IS ALREADY THE LEADING INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES. The auto industry leads the nation in the number of workers employed and the capital invested, according to a recent report of the American Bankers Association. This report says that the automotive and allied industries have definitely brought about 8 percent of all persons fully employed in the United States.

quarters of the rebel output and red lands, as the backbone of the opposition. Remembering the Mexican Deputy who charged that 90 percent of the Doherty titles were usurped, we venture to suggest that Colonel Stewart is unwilling that these titles should pass under judicial review. Apart from some special grace, there seems to be no good reason why many companies obey the law, some dare to refuse, obey whole or in part, to abide by its provisions. And though Secretary Kellogg reserves the right to protect American property even when the owners have not asked such protection, interference now in Mexico to prevent the operation of her law would be chiefly a measure of help for the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana with its Doherty properties make good.

### Uncle Sam Should Preach What He Preaches

The United States Government has been one of the strongest supporters of the right of a country to whatever domestic legislation it pleases. It will not tolerate any limitation of its tariff or immigration laws, even though these laws have caused great hardship to citizens of other countries. It should therefore guard Mexican laws as equally sacredly important to her. The companies say that they can save

As Carleton Beals points out in the New Republic this isolates the old Doherty group, with its three purpose in the law.